

# **Kathoeys' and women's use of first-person personal reference terms in Thai**

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## **Declaration**

I have read and understood The University of Edinburgh guidelines on Plagiarism and declare that this written dissertation is all my own work except where I indicate otherwise by proper use of quotes and references.

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## Abstract

The study aims to examine the use of first-person personal reference terms in Thai by kathoeys and women. Kathoeys are male-to-female transgender individuals in Thailand usually viewed as a third sex in Thai society. In this study, kathoeys' use of first-person personal reference terms in the internet-based data was compared to women's. The terms were analysed quantitatively and qualitatively. The survey was conducted to obtain more information about the terms found in the internet-based data. Five categories of first-person personal reference terms are found: personal pronouns, personal names, kin terms, the combination of kin term and personal name, and the word 'the post owner.' Pronouns are used most frequently by both kathoeys and women. Gender-neutral pronouns are used more often than male and female pronouns by both kathoeys and women. Kathoeys perform their femininity through the use of female pronouns with a frequency even higher than women. The female pronoun *dichan* is used as a default pronoun by kathoeys in the internet-based data while used for an emphatic purpose by women along with other female pronouns *ichan*, *dian* and *dan*. The questionnaire responses reveal that *dichan*, *ichan*, *dian* and *dan* directly index femininity and that most kathoey respondents use the male pronoun *phom*, a direct index of masculinity, in formal situations conforming to their biological gender. Moreover, the questionnaire also shows different meanings conveyed through different terms including the only Chinese kin term found in the data which, apart from directly indexing older age and femininity, is used by kathoeys to index experience and power of speakers.

## Table of contents

Declaration .....	i
Acknowledgements .....	ii
Abstract .....	iii
Table of contents .....	iv
List of tables .....	vi
List of figures .....	vii
1. Introduction .....	1
2. Literature .....	2
2.1 Linguistic variation and social meaning .....	2
2.2 Language and gender .....	4
2.3 Kathoeys .....	7
2.4 First-person personal reference terms in Thai .....	8
3. Methodology .....	13
3.1 Corpus analysis of the internet-based data .....	13
3.2 Questionnaire analysis .....	15
4. Analysis .....	17
4.1 Corpus analysis of the internet-based data .....	17
4.1.1 Quantitative analysis .....	17
4.1.2 Qualitative analysis .....	23
4.2 Questionnaire analysis .....	31
5. Discussion .....	42
6. Conclusion .....	45

References .....	46
Appendix .....	51

### **Lists of tables**

Table 1 Standard first-person personal pronouns in Thai .....	9
Table 2 Possible spellings and pronunciations of Thai first-person personal pronouns ....	11
Table 3 The overall frequency of first-person personal reference terms .....	17
Table 4 The frequency of all first-person personal pronouns .....	19
Table 5 The Chi Square (Goodness of Fit) of female first-person personal pronouns .....	20
Table 6 The frequency of kin terms .....	21

### **List of figures**

Figure 1 The basic kin terms in Thai .....	12
Figure 2 The percentage of the overall frequency of first-person personal reference terms	17
Figure 3 The frequency of each category of first-person personal pronouns .....	18



## 1. Introduction

Identity can be performed through several means, one of which is language. A person's identity is constructed and shown through his/her linguistic behaviour. The linguistic construction of gender identity may be seen more obviously in speakers who do not belong to a conventional gender category. Their linguistic behaviour is expected to indicate their gender identity construction and their positionality towards the gender dichotomy.

This present study tries to explain the way *kathoeys*, Thai male-to-female transgender individuals, use first-person personal reference terms in Thai as part of their gender identity construction. There are several first-person personal reference terms in Thai. Gender of speakers is one of the factors determining the choice of first-person personal reference terms in Thai. There are different pronouns for male and female speakers. Like other studies in the area of language and gender, this study tries to explain kathoeys' use of the terms in relation to their performance of gender identity, by comparing patterns of use by kathoeys and women. The analysis reveals the similarities and differences between kathoeys and women in their choice of the terms. The frequency of kathoeys' and women' use of first-person personal reference terms helps explain kathoeys' linguistic construction of gender identity. Apart from the overall frequency, first-person personal reference terms are also investigated in terms of their social meanings, whether there is any particular meaning attached to the terms and whether the social meanings of the terms used by kathoeys and women are the same as or different from the other.

The present study aims to answer two main research questions:

1. What is kathoeys' and women's overall pattern of the use of first-person personal reference terms?
2. What are the social meanings of first-person personal reference terms used by kathoeys and women?

## 2. Literature review

### 2.1 *Linguistic variation and social meaning*

Sociolinguistics has long been interested in the relation between language and society. It is argued that a linguistic variable and a social variable are related. A linguistic variable is associated with a group of speakers who uses the variable. Traditional sociolinguistic studies such as Labov (1963 & 1972) focus on a one-to-one relation where a linguistic variable directly indexes a social category.

Contemporary sociolinguists turn to look at the relation between a linguistic variable and a social category as a tendency. Variationist sociolinguistics focuses on linguistic variation and social meaning. However, the correspondence between a linguistic variable and a social variable does not have to be one-to-one. A linguistic variable has its social meaning but does not necessarily directly index a social category of speakers using the variable. The relation between a linguistic variable and a social category can be a “constitutive, indirect indexical” relation (Ochs 1991: 342). According to Ochs (1991), social meanings of linguistic resources can be constructed indirectly through stances, acts and activities. Through these interactional moves (Bucholtz 2009), speakers perform their identity linguistically. In other words, “a linguistic form is used by a particular person in performing an interactional, pragmatic activity, which can then come to index a social identity” (Johnstone 2010: 32). Identity is not static or pre-existing but emergent arising out of interaction (Bucholtz & Hall 2005). The indirect indexicality of linguistic variables is usually associated with a more specific group of speakers rather than a conventional social category (Bucholtz 2009). The indirect indexicality of linguistic variables leads to the non-exclusive relation between linguistic and social variables (Ochs 1991). A linguistic variable is not necessarily used exclusively by speakers of the same social category but can be used by speakers of different social categories in performing particular stances, social acts or interactional moves.

A stance is a speaker’s positionality relative to others. According to Jaffe (2009), stance is a speaker’s performance aligning or disaligning with others, so a speaker’s social identity is indexed through a linguistic stance. Stances can be performed repetitively until they become a speaker’s habitual stances or “repertoires of stances” which constitute to the speaker’s “persona” or “personal style” (Kiesling 2009: 174). This is a bottom-up process

of “stance accretion” (Rauniomaa 2003 cited in Bucholtz & Hall 2005: 596 and Eckert 2008: 469). Stance is then the main and fundamental interactional move used in the construction of style (Kiesling 2009). People take a stance relative to other people. In other words, stancetaking is done through comparison and contrast (Jaffe 2009). Alignment or disalignment with a stance can be considered in terms of voices and voicing contrasts (Agha 2005).

Similar to stance accretion and style, “enregistered voices” (Agha 2005) are voices stereotypically associated with a group of speakers through “a continual process of production and reproduction” (Eckert 2008: 456). When put into context, a voice becomes an entextualised voice and is compared to the enregistered voice. The entextualised voice can be incongruent with the enregistered voice resulting in the entextualised voicing contrast. The congruence or non-congruence of voicing effects is then similar to the alignment or disalignment in terms of stancetaking.

Social meanings can also be viewed under the frame of the “indexical order” (Silverstein 2003). An  $n$ -th order indexicality works at the level of stance, persona or social type (Moore & Podesva 2009) indexing a group membership (Eckert 2008). According to Eckert (2008), an  $n$ -th order index is open to be reinterpreted. New value can be added to the  $n$ -th order index yielding an  $n + 1^{\text{st}}$  order index. The “postideological”  $n + 1^{\text{st}}$  index is a result of an ideological move (Eckert 2008, Moore & Podesva 2009), which is seen by Eckert (2008: 464) as “the continual reconstrual of the indexical value of a variable.” Ideology is, therefore, at the centre of indirect indexicality (Bucholtz 2009) and “stylistic practice” (Eckert 2008: 456).

Speakers’ awareness of indexical meanings can be shown through stylisation - “an artistic representation of another’s linguistic style, an artistic image of another’s language” (Bakhtin 1981 cited in Goodwin & Alim 2010). Speakers stylise others by picking up a particular linguistic or non-linguistic feature associated with a particular group “to appropriate, explore, reproduce or challenge influential images and stereotypes of groups they *don’t* themselves (straightforwardly) belong to” (Rampton 1999: 421, original emphasis). Stylisation shows “abilities to disassemble and reassemble indexical “bundles” or packages” of speakers (Eckert 2001 cited in Goodwin & Alim 2010: 181). It also shows that speakers are mostly aware of indexical meanings of linguistic and non-linguistic behaviours.

## 2.2 *Language and gender*

Gendered meanings do not correspond to linguistic variables in a one-to-one manner. Instead, their relation is constituted through interactional moves (Ochs 1991), as previously mentioned. The relation between language and social meaning of gender is indirect. For example, a gay speaker in Podesva (2007)'s study constructs his gender identity through the use of falsetto. He uses falsetto which conveys the social meaning of expressiveness. It is through this phonation type and its connection to expressiveness, along with other aspects of his behaviours, that his 'diva' persona is constructed. Since the expressiveness is ideologically perceived as non-normative for men, the use of falsetto and its social meaning of expressiveness can index the speaker's gay identity. The 'diva' persona can be viewed as the  $n + 1^{\text{st}}$  order indexicality, following Silverstein (2003)'s framework, indirectly indexed through the expressiveness associated with the falsetto.

Since a speaker's identity is constituted through interactional moves and is indirectly indexed by language, the relation between language and gender is non-exclusive. A speaker of a social category is not limited to a set of linguistic features associated with the category. Simultaneously, a linguistic feature is not used exclusively by the only group of speakers with which it is associated. A linguistic feature can be used by any group of speakers in order to perform a particular stance or social act. That is why the use of falsetto indirectly indexes the speaker's 'diva' persona in Podesva (2007). The expressiveness associated with falsetto leads to the perception of 'diva' persona. The falsetto is used to perform expressiveness but not used exclusively for speakers wanting to construct the diva persona.

Similarly, the gay speaker in Podesva, Roberts and Campbell-Kibler's study (2002/2008) uses the release of final stops, a linguistic feature perceived as a geek girl style, as part of his gay identity. The release of final stops is ideologically linked to geek girls, and education and literacy. However, it is not used exclusively by geek girls. The speaker in this particular situation under study performs a non-typical gay identity using this particular linguistic feature in order not to sound 'too gay.' The non-typical gay identity is indirectly indexed through the release of final stops. The linguistic feature helps create an identity of being educated and competent in his profession, law. The study shows the indirect indexicality, the non-exclusivity relation between language and gender and the fact that linguistic resources are shared by all groups of speakers. The gay speaker has

access to the linguistic feature stereotypically linked to geek girls and makes use of the feature for a particular purpose.

Apart from studies by Podesva, Roberts and Campbell-Kibler (2002/2008) and Podesva (2007), the sharing of linguistic resources can also be seen in Queen's study (1997/2008). The "lesbian language," based on Queen's personal observation and her analysis of cartoon characters, is derived from various linguistic styles (Queen 1997/2008). Lesbians do have access to the same linguistic resources as others. The linguistic features drawn from different linguistic styles are used in combination. When used by lesbians, they are put in a new context. The processes of recontextualisation and reappropriation yield new conventionalised meanings and associations which are perceived as "lesbian language." This shows that linguistic features are not used exclusively only by a group of speakers they are stereotypically linked to. They are linguistic resources shared among all speakers who have access to the resources. The linguistic features are available to be put into a new context and to be reinterpreted. A particular linguistic feature can be chosen for a particular stance or social act. New social meanings can be added to the feature. The way gay and lesbian identities are expressed in the studies mentioned above shows that gender is not fixed or pre-determined. It is emergent (Bucholtz & Hall 2005), constructed by speakers in a particular situation. This can be seen most obviously when speakers do not belong to any conventional gender categories of men and women.

The *hijras* in India are referred to as "transvestites," "eunuchs," "hermaphrodites" and "a third gender" (Hall & O'Donovan 1996/2008). They are socially marginalised. Raised like a boy, they move to a hijra community later to live a life as a hijra. Being in between the two conventional gender categories, the hijras construct their identity and this is partly done linguistically. According to Hall and O'Donovan (1996/2008), verbs used in the first person and the second person addressing other hijras are usually feminine-marked by the hijras. For the third person, both masculine and feminine markings are used depending on the relative social status of a referent. Masculine marking is likely to be used to show distance with superior or subordinate referents while feminine marking is likely to be used to show solidarity or familiarity with a referent with equal status. The hijras perform a gender between male and female through the use of both masculine and feminine markings. They are 'neither men nor women' (Hall & O'Donovan 1996/2008). In other words, the gender marking is recontextualised and reinterpreted by the hijras. Both

masculine and feminine markings are used for particular social meanings creating their own gender identity.

Transgendered Tongan men or *leiti* also strive to locate their position in society aligning with the prestige of English in Tongan society. According to Besnier (2003), English is a prestigious language in Tonga. The use of English in Tongan society is associated with education, modernity, transnationalism and femininity. The orientation towards English is part of the *leiti* identity. The term *leiti* itself is borrowed from an English word *lady*. *Leiti* talk to each other in English no matter how fluent in the language they are. They are expected to be more fluent in English than non-transgendered Tongan men. English is also used as the main language in the annual beauty pageant. It plays an important role in creating the ‘extra-local’ cosmopolitan atmosphere of the event. Through English, *leiti* construct their identity aligning with femininity, modernity and the external world. The use of English is also an escape from the marginality that *leiti* are facing as transgendered people and poor Tongans.

In Thai, Kongtrakool (1996) compared first-person pronouns used by male, female and effeminate male speakers. The term for effeminate male speakers in Thai translates as ‘male speakers with a woman’s mind.’ According to Kongtrakool (1996), effeminate male speakers use male, female and gender-neutral first-person pronouns and this is interpreted in Thai gender ideology as showing the speakers’ linguistic performance of having both sexes of male and female in one person. Kongtrakool (1996) has found that effeminate male speakers use male pronouns more than female and gender-neutral ones while male and female speakers use male and female pronouns more often, respectively, than the other two kinds of pronouns. This is seen in Kongtrakool (1996) as a result of disapproving attitude of Thai society towards them. Since the questionnaire respondents in Kongtrakool (1996) are university students, they are framed in an educational context where it is more appropriate to present themselves corresponding to their biological gender. Moreover, the percentage of gender-neutral pronouns used by effeminate male speakers in Kongtrakool (1996) is higher than that used by male and female speakers. According to Kongtrakool (1996), this reflects effeminate male speakers’ avoidance of using male pronouns while not being able to perform their identity as female. In other words, using gender-neutral pronouns is a solution to conceal their “sexual deviation” (Kongtrakool 1996). Moreover, Kongtrakool (1996) has also found that the choice of first-person personal pronouns made by male, female and effeminate male speakers also depends on the relationship between a

speaker and a listener and their degree of intimacy. The effeminate male speakers use more female and gender-neutral pronouns when speaking to parents or intimates than when speaking to teachers or non-intimates (Kongtrakool 1996).

### 2.3 Kathoeys

*Kathoeys* refer to male-to-female transgender individuals in Thailand who are born physically male but feel that they belong to female and express this outwardly. The term is generally translated into English as *ladyboys*. Originally, the word *kathoe* means a combination of masculine and feminine gender usually translated into English as “hermaphrodite” or “third sex” (Jackson 1998 cited in Winter 2002, Sinnott 2002). According to Winter (2003), at first the term included gay men. However, since the term *gay* is brought into Thai society and gay men separate themselves from kathoeys, the term *kathoe* does not include gay men anymore (Sinnott 2002). Kathoeys are also referred to as *sao pra phet song* ‘the second type of women,’ *phet tee sam* ‘third sex’ and *toot* (the last term does not have the literal meaning). Some kathoeys only cross-dress occasionally, which might make it hard to distinguish them from gay men. To people who they do not know personally or are not close to, they might look like a man. The way they talk in formal situations might be similar to the way men do as well. Only when one spends time with them for a while and knows them better that one might recognise that they are kathoeys. Some kathoeys are transvestites who cross-dress usually, take female hormone and undergo breast implant surgery. Some have undergone the sex reassignment surgery.

Most kathoeys view themselves as female while Thai people view them as either female or a third gender (Winter 2002). They are marginalised in Thai society. There is still no legal recognition for kathoeys who have undergone the sex reassignment surgery. The kinds of job kathoeys can get are limited. Kathoeys’s stereotypical jobs are in the area of beauty and entertainment (Beech 2008). They are also stereotypically linked to nightlife and prostitution. Although kathoeys have to face some difficulties as mentioned above, they are more accepted in Thai society than in other societies. This is considered a result of Buddhism (Fhez 2010, “Kathoe” n.d., “Pattaya ladyboy scene” n.d.)

Kathoeys are relatively ubiquitous in everyday life in Thai society. They are widely accepted in many ways. A lot of kathoeys are well-known and well-accepted in Thai society such as Parinya Charoenphol, Ornnapa Kritsadee, Treechada Petcharat, Yollada Khomeklong and Nanthita Kampiranon. Several films have been created with kathoeys as

main characters such as *The Iron Ladies*, *Saving Private Tootsie*, *Haunting Me* and *Kung Fu Tootsie*. *Tiffany Show* and *Alcazar Cabaret* are the two transvestite cabaret theatres very famous among tourists. Two beauty contests are offered annually by the cabaret theatres and they are popular countrywide. The toilet for kathoeyes has already been settled in some schools and university dormitories in order to accommodate kathoeyes, who in the Kampang school, for example, constitute nearly 10% of the school's students (Beech 2008). Common jobs have started to be open to kathoeyes. A Thai airline, P.C. Air, has already accepted job applications from kathoeyes for the position of flight attendant and some of them have already accepted in that position (Thai-Eyes 2011). In addition, there is also the Thai Transgender Alliance, an organisation which aims to improve kathoeyes' quality of life in all aspects. The organisation provides useful information about kathoeyes and promotes the society's understanding of kathoeyes and their rights ("Thai Transgender Alliance" n.d.)

#### *2.4 First-person personal reference terms in Thai*

Personal reference terms are terms used to refer to a speaker, an addressee or a third person. According to Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005), personal reference terms in Thai consist of personal pronouns, personal names, occupational titles and kin terms, and the choice of personal reference terms depends on sociolinguistic factors. Moreover, personal reference terms can be omitted when the referent is clear or when the speaker intends to do so (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005). Like other "pro-drop" languages such as Japanese and Chinese, subjects and objects can be left "zero." This can be done when a referent is pragmatically inferable (Hartmann & Hudak 2000). This is also a means of avoiding the problem of choosing the right pronoun (Hartmann & Hudak 2000).

The Thai pronominal system is a complex system with a number of terms (see Table 1). The level of formality and the sex of the referent are considered to be important social factors for choosing a pronoun (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005). Eight social factors, as claimed in Palakornkul (1972 cited in Prasithrathsint 2007: 112), affect the social role between speakers and listeners which affects the choice of personal pronouns: power and status, age, kinship and family relationship, friendship, ethnic-religious groups, occupation, sex and genealogical distance. Additionally, formality and intimacy also help define the relationship between speakers and listeners (Palakornkul 1972 cited in Prasithrathsint 2007: 113, Kullavanijaya 2000).



	Male	Female	Gender-neutral
High formality	กระผม /kra2 phom5/ ผม /phom5/	ดิฉัน /di2 chan5/	ข้าพเจ้า /kha:3 pha4 caw3/
Mid formality			ฉัน /chan5/ เรา /raw1/
Low formality		เฮา /khaw5/	กู /ku:1/

Table 1 Standard first-person personal pronouns in Thai

Table 1, adapted from Iwasaki and Horie (2000) and Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005), shows the standard forms of Thai first-person personal pronouns. In a high formality situation, two male forms are used. /phom5/ is commonly used in general while /kra2 phom5/ is used in a more formal situation. /di2 chan5/ is the female counterpart of /phom5/ but is used in a more formal situation (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005). /kha:3 pha4 caw3/ is another first-person pronoun used in high formality situations but the term is used exclusively in writing or in a more formal situation than where the other terms are used. As a gender-neutral pronoun, the term can be used by both men and women.

At the mid formality level, both first-person pronouns are gender-neutral. /chan5/ is used only as a singular pronoun whereas /raw1/ can be used as a singular pronoun, inclusive plural pronoun and exclusive plural pronoun. At the low formality level, /khaw5/ is used by women showing the intimacy between speakers and listeners (Iwasaki & Horie 2000). /ku:1/ is an impolite form used in a very informal situation.

The pronunciation of some first-person pronouns is changed in actual use and the change is reflected in the spelling as well. /di2 chan5/ is usually pronounced as /di2 chan4/ in actual use. The spelling is sometimes changed into ดิฉัน corresponding to the pronunciation but it is a non-standard writing. /chan5/ can also be changed into /chan4/ and its spelling can be changed into the non-standard writing form ฉัน. Similarly, /khaw5/ can be changed into /khaw4/ in actual pronunciation and the non-standard spelling is เค้า. The impolite pronoun /ku:1/ is sometimes changed. The /r/ sound is sometimes inserted in front of the vowel and the pronoun becomes /kru:1/. The spelling is then changed accordingly into the non-standard writing form กู. This non-standard form is mostly found in informal online contexts.

Apart from all the pronouns shown in Table 1, หนู /nu:5/ is another female first-person pronoun commonly used. It is used by an inferior when speaking to a superior, usually a person in a higher social rank or with an older age.

There are some other forms which are non-standard or less common. อีฉัน /ʔi2 chan5/ is another female first-person pronoun which is less commonly found than /di2 chan5/. /di2 chan5/ used to be first-person pronoun for male speakers in the past (“Dichan” n.d.). It has now become a female pronoun as explained previously. It is still used as a male first-person pronoun but not in everyday conversations (“ดิฉัน” 2011). /ʔi2 chan5/ has been used as a female pronoun but is now used in a comparatively less amount. /ʔi2 chan5/ may undergo the same tonal change as /di2 chan5/ and become /ʔi2 chan4/ with the non-standard spelling อีฉัน.

In addition to the tonal change, the female pronoun /di2 chan5/ can be phonologically reduced when speaking fast and is then pronounced /dian4/ or /dan4/. The pronunciations are represented as ได้น and ดั้น, respectively. The two are considered non-standard and colloquial.

Apart from the pronoun /ku:1/, there is another impolite first-person pronoun ตู /tu:1/ which is an old pronoun (“ตู่” 2011). Like the pronoun /ku:1/, the /r/ sound is sometimes inserted in front of the vowel and the pronoun becomes /tru:1/. The non-standard spelling ตูร is usually found in informal online contexts as well.

All of the first-person personal pronouns mentioned are shown in Table 2.

	Male	Female	Gender-neutral
High formality	กระผม /kra2 phom5/ ผม /phom5/	ดิฉัน/ดิฉัน /di2 chan5/ /di2 chan4/ เดี๋ยน /dian4/ ฉัน /dan4/ อึ้น/อึ้น /ʔi2 chan5/ /ʔi2 chan4/	ข้าพเจ้า /kha:3 pha4 caw3/
Mid formality		หนู /nu:5/	ฉัน/ฉัน /chan5//chan4/ เรา /raw1/
Low formality		เขา/เค้า /khaw5//khaw4/	กู/กู /ku:1/ /kru:1/ ตู/ตู /tu:1//tru:1/

Table 2 Possible spellings and pronunciations of Thai first-person personal pronouns

Personal names can also be used as first-person personal reference terms in Thai. Most Thai people have three different types of name: first name, last name and nickname (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005). First names are usually used in formal situations while nicknames are used in informal situations where participants are close to each other. Last names are never used alone without first names.

The use of occupational titles as first-person personal reference terms is when a speaker refers to himself/herself with the title of his/her occupation. The three occupational titles which are most commonly used in Thai as first-person personal reference terms are หมอ /mɔ:5/ ‘doctor,’ อาจารย์ /ʔa:1 ca:n1/ ‘professor, teacher’ and ครู /khu:1/ ‘teacher’ (Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom 2005).

Another kind of personal reference terms in Thai is kin terms. Like other kinds of personal reference terms in Thai, kin terms can be used as first-person, second-person and third-person. According to Prasithratsint (2001), there are 17 basic kin terms in Thai, as shown in Figure 1. There are five dimensions of contrast for the Thai kin terms: generation, lineality, age, sex and parental side. When used as first-person personal reference term, speakers have to choose the right term according to all dimensions of contrast.

/phɔ:3/	‘father’
/mæ:3/	‘mother’
/pu:2/	‘father’s father’
/ya:3/	‘father’s mother’
/ta:1/	‘mother’s father’
/ya:y1/	‘mother’s mother’
/thuat3/	‘grandparents’
/thiat3/	‘grandparents’ parents’
/lu:k3/	‘son’ or ‘daughter’
/phi:3/	‘older brother’ or ‘older sister’
/no:n4/	‘younger brother’ or ‘younger sister’
/luŋ1/	‘father’s or mother’s older brother’
/pa:3/	‘father’s or mother’s older sister’
/na:4/	‘mother’s younger brother or sister’
/ʔa:1/	‘father’s younger brother or sister’
/la:n5/	‘grandchild’
/le:n5/	‘grandchild’s child’
/lo:n5/	‘child of grandchild’s child’

Figure 1 The basic kin terms in Thai

The kin terms listed above in Figure 1 are the Thai kin terms. However, there are some Chinese kin terms used by Thai-Chinese people, who are ubiquitous in Thai society. The Chinese kin terms commonly used are in the Teochew dialect of Min Nan Chinese, the dialect claimed by Lewis (2009) to be the most widely spoken Chinese dialect in Thailand.

### 3. Methodology

This present study is divided into two parts. The first part is the corpus analysis of the internet-based data while the second is based on the questionnaire.

#### 3.1 Corpus analysis of the internet-based data

For the first part, the internet-based data were investigated both quantitatively and qualitatively. The quantitative analysis yields the overall frequency of first-person personal reference terms used by kathoeyes and women. Some terms were further examined qualitatively in order to see whether they have any particular social meaning.

In order to compare the use of first-person personal reference terms used by kathoeyes and women, the online data were drawn from three different webboards: *Thai LadyBoYz.net*, *Jeban.com* and *Pantip.com*. They are expected to represent two genders. The first one represents kathoeyes and the other two represent women.

The *Thai LadyBoYz.net: transgender community in Thailand* or *TLBz* (<http://timecapsule.tlbz.me/tlbznet/webboard/index.php>) is an online community for kathoeyes. It is the first transgender webboard in Thailand (“Phuen Khong Raw” n.d.). The webboard is open for everyone to read all the posts but only members can reply to the posts. The webboard is divided into 7 sections or “corners” which consist of 21 sub-sections in total. The different sub-sections are for different topics of interest. There are 4587 members and 548779 posts in total (July 7, 2011). The posts analysed in this study are derived from five sub-sections: *Sofa See Fa* ‘the blue sofa,’ *Armchair See Tao* ‘the grey armchair,’ *Take Ya* ‘take pills,’ *Suay Duay Pat* ‘beauty by doctor,’ and *Beauty Lady (Boyz)*. The posts from five sub-sections were chosen based on the latest activity in the sections which has to be from March 1, 2011 onwards. *Sofa See Fa* ‘the blue sofa’ deals with general topics. *Armchair See Tao* ‘the grey armchair’ is a place to express their feelings about what the society has done to them. *Take Ya* ‘take pills’ is where they talk about the medicine which they take in order to become more feminine. *Suay Duay Pat* ‘beauty by doctor’ deals with surgery and *Beauty Lady (Boyz)* is about beauty and health. The 20 most recent posts from each of the five sub-sections were collected on June 14-15, 2011 – for a total of 100 posts.

The webboards chosen to represent women are two equally popular ones which indirectly limit the participants to be mostly women because of their topics of interest. *Jeban.com: Makeup is Magic!* ([http://www.jeban.com/board\\_all.php](http://www.jeban.com/board_all.php)) is a website which collects the news, trends and tips about make-up. The posts are categorised into 6 different types. “How to,” “Reviews,” “New stuff” and “Question-answer” are mostly about make-up. “Salon de jeban” is about hair and “Off topic” is for posts about topics other than make-up and hair. All posts of every type are kept on the same page. 75 posts of all types that were created on June 14-15, 2011 were collected on June 16, July 2 and July 4, 2011. Another webboard representing women in this study is *Pantip.com*, one of the most popular online communities in Thai language. Founded in 1997, it is a popular Thai-language website and discussion forum and one of the first websites established in Thailand when the internet was being first introduced in the country and was one of the top 10 websites in Thailand in 2008 (“Pantip.com” n.d.). The webboard is divided into 25 sections for different topics of interest. The section chosen for the present study called *Tor Kreung Pang* ‘dressing table’ (<http://www.pantip.com/cafe/woman/>) is the section which focuses on the topics of beauty, nutrition and fashion. 75 posts that were created on June 14-15, 2011 were collected on June 16, July 2 and July 4, 2011, for a total of 150 posts from the two webboards. More posts were collected from *Jeban.com* and *Pantip.com* in order to make the total number of personal reference terms found in the two webboards close to that found in *Thai LadyBoYz.net*.

Compared to *Jeban.com* and *Pantip.com*, the *Thai LadyBoYz.net* is smaller in terms of the number of members. The members of the *Thai LadyBoYz.net* are more likely to know each other than those of *Jeban.com* and *Pantip.com*. Despite the difference, all of the three webboards examined in this present study are online communities where the members can share their feelings and experience with people who have the same interest.

I compared the overall frequencies of first-person personal reference terms found in the webboards used by kathoey and women. Every item of first-person personal reference was counted. The items were then put into different categories according to Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005). I also used the chi-square test to find out whether the difference between the frequencies of the terms used by kathoey and women is statistically significant.

The internet-based data were also investigated qualitatively. The terms which directly index the gender of participants were examined further in search for the different social meanings they might convey and how they are used in the two groups of webboards. The social meanings of the terms were also examined through the questionnaire.

### 3.2 Questionnaire analysis

A questionnaire was sent out to both kathoey and woman respondents (see Appendix) asking about their use of the terms and their attitudes towards the terms. The respondents are 17 kathoeys and 19 women at the average age of 28.24 and 24.95 years old, respectively. Most of them have already finished their bachelor degree with some having higher education than the bachelor degree. The respondents were informed broadly about the general aim of the research. They are all aware of their answers being used for a research purpose as stated in the consent form sent along with the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was sent via email. It was firstly sent to my friends, both kathoeys and women. For kathoeys, to make sure that the respondents are kathoeys and to not make the respondents' gender an obvious matter for the respondents, I have chosen my friends who I am certain about their kathoey identity because they have stated it explicitly. After finishing the questionnaire, they were asked to forward the questionnaire to their friends who they are certain about their kathoey identity. The questionnaire was also returned via email.

The questionnaire's design is adapted from the questionnaires used in several language attitude studies (Ladegaard 2000, Qiong 2004, Ladegaard & Sachdev 2006, McKenzie 2008, Padwick 2010, Rindal 2010). The questionnaire is in Thai and consists of 3 parts. Part 1 of the questionnaire is composed of 6 questions about the first-person personal reference terms in question. The questions in this part aim to elicit the social meanings of some terms from the respondents. In order to not make it too explicit, the questions ask about the respondent's own experience and attitude. The questions in Part 1 are both open and closed questions, as following:

1. ดิฉัน      อีฉัน      เดียน      ดั้น      หนู  
               /di2 chan5/    /ʔi2 chan5/    /dian4/            /dan4/            /nu:5/

Which two of the above words do you use to refer to yourself most often?

With whom do you use them? And why do you use them with the person/persons?

2. For the other three choices left unchosen by you, why do you use them less often or why don't you use them at all? Please give your answer for each word individually.
3. For the three choices you answer in question (2), how would you say about the person who uses them? Please give your answer for each word individually.
4. พี่/น้อง    คุณพี่/คุณน้อง    คุณพี่/คุณน้อง    เจ้/เจ๊    ป้า  
 /phi:3/ or /no:ŋ4/    /khun1 phi:3/ or /khun1 no:ŋ4/    /khun1 phi:3/ or /khun1 no:ŋ4/  
 /ce:3/ or /ce:4/    /pa:3/

Which two of the above words do you use to refer to yourself most often?

With whom do you use them? And why do you use them with the person/persons?

5. For the other three choices left unchosen by you, why do you use them less often or why don't you use them at all? Please give your answer for each word individually.
6. For the three choices you answer in question (5), how would you say about the person who uses them? Please give your answer for each word individually.

Part 2 of the questionnaire requires the respondents' personal information, including the respondents' age, gender and education. Part 3 is the consent form asking for the respondents' approval for their answers to be used in this current study. The questionnaire was sent to the respondents via e-mail in the form of Word file. The respondents returned the questionnaire via e-mail as well.



## 4. Analysis

### 4.1 Corpus analysis of the internet-based data

#### 4.1.1 Quantitative analysis

All items of first-person personal reference terms were counted and classified into 5 categories as shown in Table 3: personal pronouns, personal names, kin terms, the combination of kin term and personal name, and the word เจ้าของกระชู้ ‘the post owner.’ *TLBz* stands for the *Thai LadyBoYz.net*, the webboard for kathoeys. *Jeban.com* and *Pantip.com* are the webboards representing female participants.

	Personal pronouns	Personal names	Kin terms	Kin term + name	‘the post owner’	Total
<i>TLBz</i>	1268	253	168	16	0	1705
<i>Jeban &amp; Pantip</i>	1471	118	73	2	11	1675

Table 3 The overall frequency of first-person personal reference terms

For both groups, personal pronouns are used most frequently, followed by personal names and kin terms. For kathoeys, the kin term/personal name combination is used more frequently than ‘the post owner’ whereas for women ‘the post owner’ is found to occur more often than the kin term/personal name combination. However, the use of these two categories is relatively few comparing to the rest of the data.

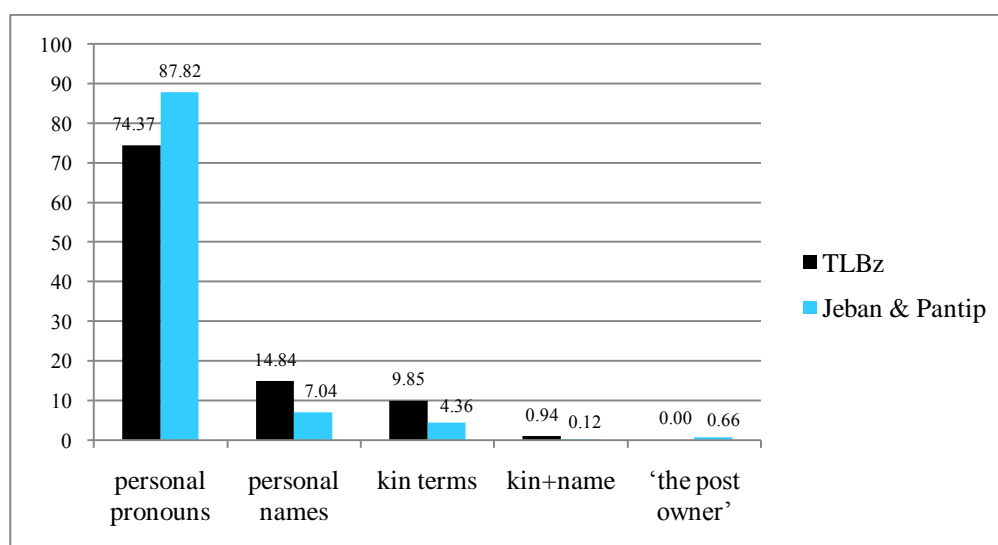


Figure 2 The percentage of the overall frequency of first-person personal reference terms

Figure 2 shows that for both kathoeys and women, personal pronouns are the category used most frequently, 74.37% and 87.82%, respectively. The category used second most frequently for both kathoeys and women is personal names. However, the percentage of use in kathoeys, 14.84%, is twice as much as women. Similarly, 9.85% of the first-person personal reference terms used by kathoeys are kin terms. The percentage is twice as high as that of the women. This is probably because of the difference in the size of the webboards. As mentioned earlier, the *TLBz* is a relatively smaller online community compared to the other two. The members in the *TLBz* then are more likely to know each other. Therefore, the use of personal names and kin terms as personal reference terms is not unexpected since both categories indicate intimacy between the participants. The higher percentage in the use of personal names and kin terms of kathoeys could also be a result of kathoeys being a non-typical gender, which makes the members of the gender feel more intimate to other members and feel like a family. This could lead to the use of personal names and kin terms as first-person personal reference terms.

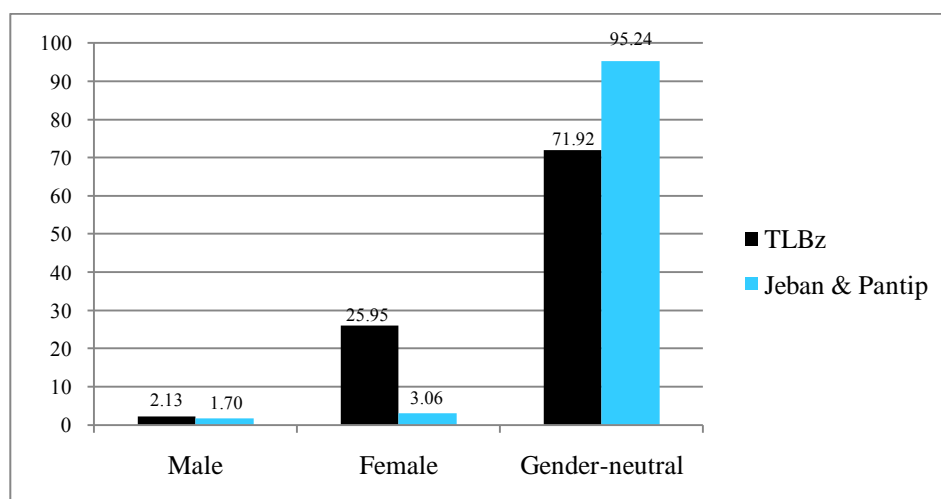


Figure 3 The frequency of each category of first-person personal pronouns

The first-person personal pronouns can be classified into male forms, female forms and gender-neutral forms. The total frequency of each category is shown in Figure 3. The patterns of first-person personal pronouns used in the two groups of webboards are the same. Gender-neutral pronouns are used most frequently in both groups of webboards, followed by the female and male forms, respectively. Figure 3 also shows that kathoeys do use the female forms of first-person personal pronouns, just like women do. However, kathoeys' use of first-person female personal pronouns is proportionally quite different from that of women, about 23% higher than that used by women. While 25.95% of all

first-person personal pronouns found in *TLBz* are female pronouns, only 3.06% are found in the webboards representing women. Kathoey's use of gender-neutral pronouns is also proportionally different from that of women. While 95.24% of all first-person personal pronouns found in *Jeban & Pantip* are gender-neutral pronouns, 71.92% are found in *TLBz*. The qualitative analysis of the reasons why the female pronouns are used more often by kathoey and the way they use them are further investigated and will be discussed later. Although the members of *TLBz* and *Jeban & Pantip* are expected to be entirely comprised of kathoey and women because of the topics of the webboards, and whereas male participants are expected to be in the minority in the online communities under study, male pronouns are also found in across all the webboards. The occurrence of male pronouns in the data will also be discussed later in the qualitative section.

Various pronouns are found with different levels of frequency as shown in Table 4.

		<i>TLBz</i>	<i>Jeban &amp; Pantip</i>
Male	/phom5/	27	25
Female	/di2 chan5/ /di2 chan4/	140	4
	/ʔi2 chan5/ /ʔi2 chan4/	14	2
	/dian4/	1	3
	/dan3/	1	0
	/nu:5/	152	30
	/khaw5/ /khaw4/	21	6
Gender-neutral	/chan5/ /chan4/	29	16
	/raw1/	883	1374
	/ku:1/ /kru:1/	0	5
	/tu:1/ /tru:1/	0	6
Total		1268	1471

Table 4 The frequency of all first-person personal pronouns

There are usually two spellings corresponding to the two pronunciations ฉั๋น and ฉั๊น for /chan5/ and /chan4/, and อิฉั๋น and อิฉั๊น for /ʔi2 chan5/ and /ʔi2 chan4/, respectively. However, in the corpus, there is another form found for each, ฉั๊น /chan3/ and อิฉั๊น /ʔi2 chan3/, which is unusual. They are used by the only participant in the data from *TLBz* who is a woman. The spellings are likely to be her personal spelling style. Similarly, the

pronoun  $\text{ดั้น}^{\text{๕}}$  /dan3/ is likely to be the participant's typographical error of the pronoun  $\text{ดั้น}^{\text{๔}}$  /dan4/. An alternative non-standard spelling of some pronouns is found as well:  $\text{นุ้}$  for /nu:5/ and  $\text{เค้า}$  /khaw4/. These two, however, yield the same pronunciations as  $\text{หนู}$  and  $\text{เค้า}$ , respectively.

As mentioned earlier, the pattern of first-person personal pronoun use indicates that female pronouns are used both by kathoey and women but with a higher frequency in the former. Kathoey's use of female pronouns can be seen as a way they show their gender identity as female. They make it so explicit that the percentage of female pronoun used by them is even higher than that used by women. This obviously indicates that kathoey has access to the same linguistic resources as other gender categories. To index their femininity, they use female pronouns as a way of aligning themselves with women. This illustrates, as mentioned in the literature review section, that linguistic features are not used exclusively by their only typically associated speakers and that gender identity can be constructed linguistically. The female pronouns then become of particular interest because it is through the female pronouns that kathoey emphasise or exaggerate their female identity.

	/di2 chan5/ /di2 chan4/	/ʔi2 chan5/ /ʔi2 chan4/	/dian4/	/dan3/	/nu:5/	/khaw5/ /khaw4/
<i>TLBz</i>	140	14	1	1	152	21
<i>Jeban &amp; Pantip</i>	4	2	3	0	30	6
$X^2$	128.44	9.0	1.0	-	81.78	8.33

Df = 1

Alpha = 0.05

Reject the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) when  $X^2$  is greater than 3.841.

Table 5 The Chi Square (Goodness of Fit) of female first-person personal pronouns

Various female pronouns are found with different frequencies in *TLBz* and *Jeban & Pantip*. The Chi Square Goodness of Fit is used to test whether the difference between the

two groups of webboards in the use of female first-person personal pronouns is statistically significant. The statistical analysis is shown in Table 5.

The chi-square test cannot be performed in the case of /dan3/ because it is not found in the women's webboards at all. The difference between the use of /dian4/ in *TLBz* and that in *Jeban & Pantip* is not statistically significant. For the other four pronouns, /di2 chan5// di2 chan4/, /ʔi2 chan5//ʔi2 chan4/, /nu:5/ and /khaw5//khaw4/, they are used more frequently in *TLBz* than in the other two webboards which represent women and the difference is statistically significant. The use of these pronouns is examined further and will be discussed later.

The way kathoeys use female pronouns more often than women in a statistically significant way can be viewed as hyperadaptation. Hyperadaptation is seen by Trudgill (2003) as a result of dialect contact. It is a situation where speakers of one variety try to speak like those of another variety by using the features in that desired variety with a higher frequency than speakers of that variety themselves (Trudgill 2003). The female first-person pronouns are typically used by women. Kathoeys, wanting to show their female identity, not only use the female pronouns but use them more often than women. Hyperadaptation shows kathoeys' performance of female identity.

	/phi:3/ 'older brother' or 'older sister'	/no:ŋ4/ 'younger brother' or 'younger sister'	/khun1 phi:3/ /khun1 phi:3/ 'older brother' or 'older sister'	/khun1 no:ŋ4/ /khun1 no:ŋ4/ 'younger brother' or 'younger sister'	/ce:3/ /ce:4/ 'older sister'	/pa:3/ 'aunt'	Total
<i>TLBz</i>	136	19	3	2	8	0	168
<i>Jeban &amp; Pantip</i>	38	1	0	0	31	3	73

Table 6 The frequency of kin terms

Apart from personal pronouns, kin terms are also found in the data used as first-person personal reference terms. As shown in Table 6, there are six kin terms found in total. Most of them are found in both groups of data but some are found exclusively in *TLBz* or in *Jeban & Pantip*. The terms คุณพี่/คุณพี่ /khun1 phi:3/ or /khun1 phi:3/ and คุณน้อง/คุณน้อง /khun1 no:n4/ or /khun1 no:n4/ have the same referential meanings as พี่ /phi:3/ and น้อง /no:n4/, respectively. /phi:3/ is used when the speaker is older than the addressee while /no:n4/ is used when the speaker is younger. คุณ /khun1/ is a general polite title functioning as a prefix. /khun1/ is the standard form. The final sound is sometimes changed into /ŋ/ and /khun1/ is the non-standard form. The motivation for this final sound change is revealed through the questionnaire which will be discussed later.

เจ้/เจ้ /ce:3/ or /ce:4/ ‘older sister’ is derived from a Chinese loanword (Teochew dialect) 姐. This Chinese kin term is different from the Thai kin term /phi:3/ because the Chinese term directly indexes speakers’ identity as female. The term is used by various kathoey participants but is used by only one female participant. Similarly, the kin term /pa:3/ ‘aunt’ is also a direct index of participants’ gender. However, it is used by only two particular participants and only a few items of the kin term are found.

The kin terms and personal names are sometimes used together in combination. However, the only combination found in these data is the use of /phi:3/ followed by participants’ name. For example, a participant whose name is วสัน /wa3 san5/ refers to herself as พี่วสัน /phi:3 wa3 san5/.

The term ‘post owner’ in Thai is เจ้าของกระทู้. The person who creates the post sometimes refers to himself/herself as ‘post owner.’ The term is usually written with the four initial letters of the four syllables of the word and therefore becomes จขกท, as shown in Example 1.

### Example 1 (Pantip #26)

อ่านมา แต่ละคน สองเดือน ก็เริ่มดีแล้ว ทำไมของ จขกท ('post owner') สามเดือนแล้ว ยังหน้าพังอยู่  
เลยละคะเนี่ย หรือว่ามันแพ้

I've been reading the replies. It usually takes 2 months for others to get better. I've been using it for 3 months. Why doesn't my face get any better? Or I'm allergic to it?

In Example 1, the post creator asks a question about a kind of medicine she uses. After some people reply to her post, the post creator gives her opinion. The term 'post owner' is used here as a first-person personal reference term for the person who creates the post.

The term 'post owner' is similar to an occupational title to some extent. According to Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005), occupational titles can be personal reference terms in Thai. The term 'post owner' is not participants' occupation. However, it can be considered as participants' position in the online communities, similar to occupational titles which are participants' position in the society.

To summarise, the most frequently used first-person personal reference terms among kathoey and women are personal pronouns. The other types of first-person personal reference terms found in the data are personal names, kin terms, the combination of kin term and personal name and the word เจ้าของกระทู้ 'the post owner.' Four of the female pronouns /di2 chan5//di2 chan4/, /ʔi2 chan5//ʔi2 chan4/, /nu:5/ and /khaw5//khaw4/ are used more often by kathoey than by women in a statistically significant way. In the next section, I will investigate the pronouns and kin terms qualitatively in order to find whether they have any social meaning for kathoey and women and what their social meanings are.

#### 4.1.2 Qualitative analysis

As shown in the quantitative results, five categories of first-person personal reference terms are found in the data and personal pronouns are used most often. The highest frequency of gender-neutral pronouns is not unexpected since gender-neutral pronouns are commonly used in everyday conversation. What is interesting is the use of the male pronoun /phom5/ in the webboards where the members are typically kathoey and women. The pronoun will be referred to in the main text as *phom* from here onwards. The

*Thai LadyBoYz.net* is specifically created to be an online community for kathoeyes who are expected to be the majority of the community. The webboard on *Jeban.com* and the section chosen for this present study in *Pantip.com*'s webboard mainly talk about make-up, health and beauty. The content indirectly limits the participants to mostly women.

The participants who use the male pronoun do not state their gender explicitly. The real identity of the members participating in the webboards is not revealed. However, these participants are aware that most members in the communities are kathoeyes and women and men are in the minority. Despite this fact, the male pronoun is found. Participants who use the male pronoun present themselves as male in the online communities where most members do not identify themselves as male. The use of the male pronoun shows that these participants are different. They are not either kathoeyes or women. The participants show their male identity to others through the linguistic resources they have. This linguistic differentiation is considered as the participants' identity differentiation. The participants show their different gender identity through language. The only male pronoun found in the data is /phom5/.

Example 2 (*Armchair See Tao #20*)

ผม (/phom5/) ว่าผม (/phom5/) เลวแล้วนะ คนที่พูดแบบนี้มันเลวกว่าผม (/phom5/) หลายร้อยเท่า

**I** thought **I**'m bad. The person who says this is worse than **me** many times.

Example 3 (*Pantip #75*)

ผม (/phom5/) จำเป็นต้องใส่ชุดขาวไปเรียนทุกวัน ครีมนันแดดที่เคยใช้ก็ล้นแต่ทำให้เสียเป็นคราบเหลืองพอนานๆเข้าผม (/phom5/) ก็ชักไม่ไหว

**I** need to wear white shirt to school every day. All of the sunblock I've used leave the yellow stain. **I** can't stand it anymore.

The male pronoun is found in all the webboards. As shown in Example 2 and 3, the pronoun *phom* is used in the same way all throughout the webboards. It is used to refer to the participants as first person directly indexing the participants' masculinity. Like other internet-based sources, the identity of participants is unknown. People can even conceal



their identity online. Language is almost the only way through which participants' identity is shown. Although the actual identity of participants is unknown, the male first-person pronoun used makes it possible to see that there are some people in the communities who present themselves as male. The only way to show their male identity is through language, specifically through the use of personal reference terms. The pronoun *phom* often corresponds with the male polite final particle ครับ /krab4/. In other words, if the final particle is used by a participant who refers to himself as *phom*, it is always the male particle /krab4/ such as in Example 4. Both the pronoun and the particle function together as the evidence of participants' male identity.

Example 4 (*Pantip #64*)

ตอนนี้ผม (/phom5/) กลับมาอยู่เมืองไทยได้สามสี่วันและ หนี ความร้อน จาก summer ที่นั่น มาร้อน  
กว่าที่นี่ครับ (The final particle)

I've been back to Thailand for 3-4 days already, escaping the heat of summer there to face more heat here.

The male first-person pronoun can be used alone without the final particle. Similarly, since pronouns and personal reference terms in general can be omitted in Thai, the male final particle can be used without the male pronoun. The use of the male pronoun is the participants' linguistic performance of gender differentiation. However, linguistic differentiation is not always sufficient for participants to differentiate between kathoey and women. The gender identity is sometimes stated explicitly in order to show participants' gender identity as women, not kathoey.

Example 5 (*Suay Duay Pat #16*)

หนูว่าทำน่าจะสวยขึ้นนะคะ แต่โครงหน้าพี่เนียนนี้มากเลยคะ

I think the chin surgery will make you look better. But actually the shape of your face is really woman-like.

Example 6 (*Suay Duay Pat #16*)

พี่สันแกเป็น ผู้ ญ ค่ะ

She is a woman.

Although the use of female pronoun shows participants' female identity, it is not able to differentiate women from kathoeyes. In Example 5, the participant is not aware that the post owner is a woman and mentions that the post owner looks like a “real” woman based on the photo of the post owner. Since the webboard is the online community for kathoeyes, the expectation is participants are kathoeyes. However, the post owner has already stated explicitly in the very beginning of the post that she is a woman. She describes herself as *chanee* ‘gibbon,’ the term used among kathoeyes to refer to “real” women. The participant in Example 6, who knows the gender identity of the post owner then corrects the participant in Example 5.

While female pronouns are used by both kathoeyes and women, the percentage of female pronouns used in *TLBz* is higher than that used in *Jeban & Pantip* in a statistically significant way. This shows that kathoeyes do not only perform their female identity aligning with women through the use of female pronoun, but they also emphasise their female identity by using female pronouns even more often than women themselves. They do it explicitly and even more obviously than women by using female pronouns at a higher frequency resulting in the hyperadaptation.

Six female pronouns are found in the data. All the pronouns are used by both groups of participants except the pronoun /dan4/, which is found only in *TLBz*.

Example 7 (*Armchair See Tao #13*)

พอถึงเวลาที่นัดเจอกัน ดิฉัน (/di2 chan4/) ซึ้งหึเลยคะ หาคณใหม่ไปด้วย ตอนนีผู้ขายคนนั้นยังอาลัย  
อวรวณถึงดิฉัน (/di2 chan4/) อยู่เลยคะ

When the meeting time came, I left him, looking for a new guy at the same time. Until now he still misses me.

Example 8 (*Suay Duay Pat #8*)

ดิฉัน (/di2 chan5/) อยู่กาฬสินธุ์ ถ้าจะไปตัดที่ลพบุรี ไป - กลับ แล้วคิดว่าผลจะบวมไหมคะ ดิฉัน  
(/di2 chan5/) จะไหมคะ

I live in Kalasin. Do you think it's possible for me to undergo the surgery at Lopburi in one day for a round trip? Will I be able to stand the pain?

The female pronoun /di2 chan5//di2 chan4/, which will be referred to in the main text as *dichan* from here onwards, is used by kathoeys, as shown in Example 7 and 8. The participant in Example 7 has used the pronoun *dichan* along with the gender-neutral pronouns in this post, the singular /raw1/ and the inclusive plural /raw1/ which are not shown in the excerpt. By using the female pronoun, the participant who is a kathoey presents herself linguistically as female. Similarly, the participant in Example 8 uses the pronoun *dichan*, not only in this post, but in other posts she participates as well. She also refers to herself with other terms such as the kin term /phi:3/ but only when she knows the person she is addressing to. While the female pronoun *dichan* is used by the kathoeys only as a usual first-person personal reference term, it seems to have another particular meaning for women.

Although the female pronoun *dichan* is found in both groups of the webboards, kathoeys and women seem to use the pronoun differently. While it is used simply as a first-person pronoun by kathoeys, it has an emphatic or expressive meaning for women. Kathoeys seem to use the pronoun as a default for first-person personal reference term. Their default use of the pronoun corresponds to the higher frequency of the pronoun in *TLBz*. Kathoeys' higher frequency of female pronouns in *TLBz* also corresponds to the way women use gender-neutral at a proportionally higher frequency than kathoeys. Women may not use female pronouns as frequently as kathoeys and tend to use gender-neutral more often.

#### Example 9 (Pantip #1)

แต่ก่อนเรา (/raw1/) มีปัญหาเรื่องสิ่วุดตันคะ เป็นทั้งหน้าเลย อักเสบที่นึ่งนี้ทั้งรอยแดงและหลุมไว้ตลอด ก็  
รักษาด้วยตัวเองมาเรื่อยๆ ใครว่าตัวไหนดี ดิฉัน (/di2 chan5/) ลองมาหมด

I used to have pimples all over my face. They leave red marks and holes on my face. I've tried to take care of them myself. Which kind of medicine is said to be good, I've tried all.

### Example 10 (Pantip #14)

เรา (/raw1/) ทำทั้ง 2 อย่างพร้อมๆกัน เดินทางสายกลางค่ะ เงินก็ต้องบริหารให้เป็น ความสวยก็ต้องดูแล  
นั่งนับเงินแต่หน้าตาไม่มีราศี ดิฉัน (/di2 chan4/) ว่ามันไม่ใช่!!!

I take care of both at the same time. Manage the money and keep the beauty. Counting the money you have but having a bad-looking face, I think it's not the right way!!!

The female pronoun *dichan* is used only four times in *Jeban & Pantip*, meaning four times in the total 150 posts analysed in this study. The pronoun is not commonly used by women to refer to themselves. I argue that women use it for an emphatic or expressive purpose. The pronoun is chosen when the woman participants want to emphasise what they are saying. In Example 9, the participant wants to emphasise the pimple problem and the fact that she has tried to cope with it in every way. The pronoun occurs only once. The participant usually uses the gender-neutral singular pronoun /raw1/ in this post. The use of *dichan* is contrasted with her usual use of /raw1/ so as to put an emphasis on the content. It is more marked and salient because of its juxtaposition with the pronoun /raw1/. The post in Example 10 is about women, money and beauty. The participant expresses her opinion that both money and beauty are important. She replies only once in this post. At first, similar to the participant in Example 9, she uses the gender-neutral singular pronoun /raw1/ as the first-person personal reference term. In the end, she turns to use *dichan* to emphasise that both money and beauty are important and not only one of them. The pronoun *dichan* also emphasises the participant's gender identity. She expresses her opinion as a woman. The pronoun *dichan* together with the exclamation marks then help strengthen the content.

### Example 11 (Pantip #59)

แต่ก่อน บลัชออนของดิฉัน (/di2 chan5/) ต้อง Anna Sui และ Nars เท่านั้น แต่พอได้ลองบลัช

MMU แล้ว ต้องเปลี่ยนใจค่ะ

My blusher used to be Anna Sui and Nars only. But after I've tried MMU, I've changed my mind.

In Example 11, the participant shows her standpoint that as a woman, she only chose these brands. The pronoun then has an emphatic purpose. However, the participant in this example takes part in the post only once and the only pronoun used is *dichan*. The pronoun *dichan* is not juxtaposed to any other pronoun. One possible interpretation is that the pronoun *dichan* is the participant's usual choice. Although women use the female pronoun *dichan* for an emphatic or expressive purpose, it does not exclude the possibility of the pronoun's use as a first-person personal reference term without this emphatic meaning.

Example 12 (*Suay Duay Pat #3*)

ไม่ต้องกลัวนะคะเพราะดิฉัน (/di2 chan5/) คิดว่าไม่มีใครที่ขี้กลัวได้เท่าดิฉัน (/di2 chan5/) อีกแล้ว  
จริงๆนะ มันจะผ่านไปได้ด้วยดีค่ะ

Don't be scared because **I**'m sure no one can be as scared as **me**, really. It will be fine.

The women's use of the female pronoun *dichan* for an emphatic purpose is also found in *TLBz*. The speaker in Example 12 states explicitly in this post in the kathoeys' webboard, where she is the post owner, that she is a "real" woman in terms of biology. In this post, she talks about the breast implant she has undergone. She usually uses the gender-neutral singular pronoun /raw1/ to refer to herself. In Example 12, she switches to use *dichan* so as to highlight her fear when undergoing the implant.

For other female pronouns, /ʔi2 chan5//ʔi2 chan4/, /dian4/, /dan4/, /nu:5/ and /khaw5//khaw4/, there is no discernible difference among the use by kathoeys and women. /ʔi2 chan5//ʔi2 chan4/, /dian4/ and /dan4/, which will be referred to in the main text as *ichan*, *dian* and *dan* from here onwards, are used by both groups of participants to put an emphasis on what they are saying, in contrast to other gender-neutral pronouns.

Example 13 (*Armchair See Tao #18*)

เพื่อนๆ ทุกคนคะ อย่าเพิ่งเบื่อกับที่จะอ่าน ที่อิชั้น (/ʔi2chan5/) เขียนนะคะ เอาไว้เป็นกรณีศึกษาละกัน..

Guys, don't get fed up with what **I**'ve written. Let's take it as a case study

Example 14 (Pantip #31)

ครั้นจะเข้าไปที่ King Power แม่เจ้าก็ไม่ขายให้ดิ้น (/dian4/) เพราะไม่มี Boarding-pass เหว  
กรรม !! มีสตังค์ใครว่าทำได้ทุกอย่าง

Even I go to King Power, they won't sell it to me because I don't have a boarding pass. Oh my goodness!! Who says money can buy everything?

Example 15 (Armchair See Tao #13)

อิจนี่ คนเนียนๆ อะ ดั้น (/dan 3/) เดินมา 5 เมตร ก็ รู้ลว่ากะเทย

I'm jealous at those who look really woman-like. Seeing me in a five-metre distance, you can tell I'm a kathoey.

The participant in Example 13 usually uses other first-person personal reference terms to refer to herself in the posts. It is only when she wants to stress something that she switches to use this particular female pronoun *ichan*. The contrastive use of different pronouns shows a more expressive meaning. The participant in Example 14 and 15 appears only once in the post and uses only one female pronoun each, *dian* and *dan*, respectively. The spelling of the pronoun in Example 15 is interpreted as a typological error yielding the pronunciation /dan3/. The participant's intended pronoun is ดั้น /dan4/. The pronouns *ichan*, *dian* and *dan* are used to emphasise the participants' emotion. As shown in the examples, the pronouns help make the content sound more dramatic or expressive. For women, these pronouns are used for emphasis like *dichan* is. However, since *dichan* is used by kathoeyes as a default first-person personal reference term, these female pronouns are more expressive than *dichan*. The different meanings of these female pronouns can be seen from the questionnaire analysis which will be discussed later.

As mentioned previously, /phi:3/ and /khun1 phi:3/, and /no:ŋ4/ and /khun1 no:ŋ4/ have the same referential meaning, 'older brother or sister' and 'younger brother or sister,' respectively. The dimension of contrast for these terms is the age. /phi:3/ and the Chinese kin terms /ce:3/ or /ce:4/ 'older sister' also have the same referential meaning. The difference among these kin terms is not found in the data. The use of these terms does not yield any difference in meanings in the way that the female pronouns do as previously

explained. However, these kin terms will be discussed later again based on the questionnaire results.

To summarise the qualitative analysis of the corpora, *phom* is used as a means of linguistic differentiation performing masculinity. *Dichan* is used as the default first-person personal reference term by kathoeyes but not by women. The female pronouns *ichan*, *dian* and *dan*, are used for emphasis by both kathoeyes and women. The difference in the usage of the Thai kin term /phi:3/ ‘older brother/sister’ and the Chinese kin term /ce:3/ or /ce:4/ ‘older sister,’ however, is not found

#### 4.2 Questionnaire analysis

All personal reference terms have the same main function, which is for participants to refer to themselves while speaking. Some terms have the same referential meanings suggesting a particular characteristic of a person, such as age or gender. In this section I analyse the results of a questionnaire I administered to kathoeyes and women aiming to elicit information about social meanings of some first-person personal reference terms found in the internet-based data (see the questionnaire in the Appendix). As the analysis shows, kathoeyes and women generally agree on the social meanings of most terms. *Phom* directly index masculinity whereas *dichan*, *ichan*, *dian* and *dan* directly index femininity. *Dichan* is associated with formality for kathoeyes and women. *Ichan* is connected to a speaker in lower social ranking and of older age. *Dian* is perceived as related to exaggeration, high class people and old people while *dan* is perceived as similar to *dian* but more exaggerating. /khun1 phi:3/ and /khun1 no:ŋ4/ are reported to sound more intimate than /phi:3/ ‘older brother or sister’ and /no:ŋ4/ ‘younger brother or sister.’ The change of the final sound from /n/ to /ŋ/ in the title /khun1/ is associated with the “internet language,” “teenager language” and language use of Chinese Thai speakers. The Chinese kin term /ce:3/ or /ce:4/ is a direct index of older age and femininity. For kathoeyes, speakers are perceived to be experienced and powerful when using this kin term.

The responses from the questionnaire show unequivocally that the pronoun *phom* is a male pronoun for both kathoeyes and women. The pronoun is mentioned by the respondents of both genders as the polite basic first-person pronoun for male speakers or speakers who want to be male. None of the female respondents reports themselves using this male pronoun. As shown in the examples below, some of kathoey respondents state explicitly that the pronoun extremely goes against their gender. Some do not use it at all.

Example 16 (K #2)

ผม ฟังดูแมนเกินไป

*Phom* sounds too much like a “man”.

Example 17 (K #4)

ผม แสดงความเป็นผู้ชายซึ่งขัดกันความรู้สึกส่วนตัวอย่างมาก

*Phom* shows masculinity which absolutely contrasts with my personal feeling.

Example 18 (K #14)

ผม ไม่ได้ใช้เลย เพราะว่าไม่ใช่ผู้ชายค่ะ

I don't use *phom* at all because I'm not a man.

However, the use of the male pronoun is reported in the questionnaire responses.

Example 19 (K #9)

“ผม” ใช้กับบุคคลอาวุโสกว่าที่ไม่คุ้นเคยกันมากนัก หรือทุกคนที่ไม่รู้จัก

I use *phom* with older people who I'm not familiar with and everyone I've never known before.

Example 20 (K #11)

ผม ใช้เมื่อเป็นทางการ เวลาทำงาน หรือพูดคุยกับคนที่เพิ่งรู้จักกัน

I use *phom* in formal situations, in workplace or talking to people I just get to know

Most of the kathoey respondents state that they use *phom* in formal situations where they are not close to the addressee. As shown in the examples above, the pronoun is the default when meeting a person for the first time. The use of this male pronoun by most kathoey respondents in formal situations or with persons they are not familiar with is not unexpected. This is also found in a previous study (Kongtrakool 1996). However, the use reported in the questionnaire should be seen as different from occurrences of this same



male pronoun that were found in *TLBz*. In the webboard, the members are expected to be kathoeys. Assuming that other members belong to the same gender, the atmosphere in the webboard tends to be more informal because of the in-group identity of the participants. Although the in-group identity does not automatically bring an informal situation, it helps create a comfortable place for kathoeys to express themselves. Being part of the community where its members identify as kathoeys, they are not the minority and they can present themselves freely. They are not talking to unfamiliar people who they may have to conceal their gender identity. This in-group feeling then leads to a more informal atmosphere in the webboard where the participants may not feel the need to conceal their gender identity. The use of this male pronoun in the corpora can then be seen as the performance of non-transgendered men. The linguistic difference is used to perform the gender differentiation of these participants and this highlights the linguistic construction of gender identity. This shows that in situations where gender of participants is unknown like in an internet-based community, it is participants who construct their own gender identity through the way they use language. Gender identity is then emergent arising through interaction. Moreover, the obvious masculinity attached to this male pronoun *phom* may be a reason why the participants' male identity does not have to be stated explicitly in the way that women have to do in kathoeys's webboard.

Corresponding to their use of the male pronoun, some kathoey respondents mention the impossibility to use the female pronouns because they were born male, such as in Example 21.

Example 21 (*K #1*)

เหตุที่ไม่เคยใช้ทั้งสี่คำเพราะมีร่างกายเป็นผู้ชาย จึงไม่ได้ใช้สี่คำที่เหลือ

The reason why I've never used these four words is because I have a male body, so I don't use them.

This shows that the female pronouns *dichan*, *ichan*, *dian* and *dan* directly index femininity. Kathoeys and women agree on the use of the female pronoun *dichan* in formal situations. According to the questionnaire responses, for both kathoeys and women, the pronoun sounds polite and formal, and like a written language. The respondents report that they use it to leave some space between them and the addressees. However, the responses obtained from the questionnaire-based analysis do not correspond to the analysis of the

data from the corpora. In the internet-based data, this pronoun is used for emphasis for woman participants. It, however, is not reported to have any particular meaning for the woman respondents other than used as a formal female first-person pronoun. It may be the case that, since the pronoun is not a default for women and usually used in formal situations, when used in the webboards, its non-default status leads to the interpretation that the pronoun must serve a particular purpose, and that is for an emphasis.

A woman-like appearance seems to be a requirement for kathoeyes to use *dichan*. Some of the kathoey respondents state that the pronoun can be used by kathoeyes who look very woman-like or who have undergone the sex reassignment surgery, as shown in Example 22.

Example 22 (K #9)

“ดิฉัน” แทนตัวเพศหญิง หรือกะเทยที่ดูหญิงมากๆ หรือแปลงเพศแล้ว ใช้แล้วคงไม่เคอะเขิน

*dichan* is used for female speakers or kathoeyes who look really like women or have undergone the sex reassignment surgery to refer to themselves. That wouldn't be unnatural.

This may help explain why most of the kathoey respondents report themselves using the male pronoun *phom*, not the female pronoun *dichan*. The female pronoun *dichan* is the default pronoun for kathoey participants on the webboard but not for the kathoey respondents. The difference in the use of *dichan* found between the corpora and the questionnaire responses might actually be a result of the difference between the members of the webboard and the respondents of the questionnaire. Most of kathoey questionnaire respondents do not present themselves physically as woman-like while the members of *TLBz* tend to be those who present themselves as woman-like. The difference may also be a result of the context. As a written mode, the kathoey online community might enable its member to express their gender identity more explicitly through language.

Apart from the woman-like appearance restriction, one of the kathoey respondents also reports that she uses *dichan* in an informal written mode in order to create a feminine atmosphere. This indicates that the pronoun is not the default for this kathoey respondent but is used for a particular purpose of indexing femininity.

In the corpora, *ichan*, *dian* and *dan* are all used by both kathoey and women in an emphatic or expressive way. According to the responses from the questionnaire, these female pronouns index particular social meanings. Both kathoey and women agree that *ichan* is used when speakers feel that they are lower in the social ranking than the addressee. The pronoun is reported to be “old language” and speakers who use this term are expected to be old as well. The pronoun is reported in the questionnaire to be used in TV dramas. Additionally, both kathoey and women report that *ichan* is also used in a non-serious and funny tone showing speakers’ sense of humour.

*Dian* and *dan* seem to be very similar for both kathoey and women. As shown in the examples below, both pronouns are attached to exaggeration. Speakers are expected to be rich people in a high class of the society or old people. The pronouns are also considered as the non-standard way of using language.

Example 23 (K #6)

เดียน/ดัน ให้ความรู้สึกว่าผู้ใช้ถือตัวว่าเป็นคนชั้นสูงและดัดจริต

*Dian* or *dan* makes me feel that speakers consider themselves as being in a high society. They are also exaggerating.

Example 24 (W #11)

เดียน ดัน เข้าใจว่าคนใช้ค่อนข้างมีอายุ

*Dian* or *dan* I think speakers are quite old.

Example 25 (W #8)

เดียน เป็นคำที่ฟังดูไม่ค่อยเหมาะสม ไม่ค่อยเป็นทางการเมื่อพูดกับผู้อื่น

*Dian* sounds like an inappropriate word. It sounds informal when speaking to others.

*Dan* is attached with the same social meanings as *dian*. It is considered to be even more exaggerating than *dian*, as shown in Example 26.

### Example 26 (K #3)

เดียน – ผู้ใช้ดัดจริต, ดัน – ผู้ใช้ดัดจริตมากกว่า

*Dian* - a speaker is exaggerating, *dan* - a speaker is more exaggerating

Although the social meanings of *ichan*, *dian* and *dan* obtained from the questionnaire responses do not exactly match those found in the corpora, some similarities are still seen. These pronouns are used by kathoey and women not as common first-person pronouns, but in order to create a particular meaning or atmosphere in the corpora. They are used to emphasise the content making it more expressive. This corresponds to the way the non-referential meanings attached to the pronouns are revealed through the questionnaire.

Moreover, the use of *ichan*, *dian* and *dan* reported by the questionnaire respondents, can be viewed as stylisation (Bakhtin 1981 cited in Goodwin & Alim 2010). *Ichan* is reported by one of woman respondents to be used as an imitation of old people in a mocking style, as shown in Example 27. The stylisation is associated with the respondent's perception of the pronoun as connecting the “old language” use by old people. The pronoun representing old people is used by the respondent in stylising an old person.

### Example 27 (W #13)

อิฉัน ใช้เวลาพูดเล่นๆกับเพื่อน (...) เป็นลักษณะการพูดเหมือนตัวเองเป็นคนแก่แบบขำๆหน่อย

*Ichan* is used informally with friends (...) It's speaking humorously like old people.

Similarly, *dian* and *dan* are reported by kathoey and woman respondents to be used as an imitation especially in TV dramas. The pronouns are reported to be used in stylising high class people due to their association with that group of people. As shown in the examples below, using the pronouns can be seen as speakers' attempt to sound like high class people. They “try” to sound like or “imitate” these people.

#### Example 28 (K #4)

เดียน ดั้น ดูเป็นคนมีกิริยาที่ดัดจริต พยายามทำตัวไฮโซ และผู้ใช้น่าจะเป็นกะเทย

*Dian* and *dan* sound exaggerating. Speakers **try** to act like high class people and are likely to be kathoeys.

#### Example 29 (K #5)

เดียน น่าจะใช้ในการแกล้งพูดให้ดูเป็นผู้สูงศักดิ์ (คุณหญิงคุณนาย) เวลาเลียนแบบคำพูดของคนเหล่านี้

*Dian* is likely to be used in pretending to be high class people (noblewomen), in **imitating** the way these people speak.

Interestingly, the kathoey respondent in Example 28 mentions explicitly that the pronouns are likely to be used by kathoeys. This may reflect Thai people's perception of kathoeys, which is a topic beyond the scope of this study. Moreover, although *dian* and *dan* are also associated with speakers of old age, the respondents' stylisation of this group of people is not reported in the questionnaire responses.

The questionnaire also provides insightful information on the use of kin terms as first-person personal reference terms. Some factors other than age and sex of speakers also affect the choice of the kin terms due to both the referential and social meanings of the terms.

/khun1 phi 3/ or /khun1 non 4/, and /khun1 phi 3/ or /khun1 non 4/ have the same referential meanings. /phi 3/ is used when a speaker is older than the addressee while /non 4/ is used when a speaker is younger. /khun1/ is a polite title. For both kathoeys and women, it is shown in the questionnaire responses that the final sound change of /khun1/ from /n/ to /ŋ/ is ideologically connected with the kind of language used on the internet, used by teenagers and used by Chinese Thai speakers. The respondents mention explicitly that /khun1 phi 3/ or /khun1 non 4/ is an “incorrect” or non-standard way of using language. The questionnaire respondents find it associated with the so-called “internet language” especially used by teenagers who try to be fashionable. The connection with Chinese Thai speakers is derived from the typical Chinese people when speaking Thai because the final /n/ is usually pronounced by that group as /ŋ/. According to the questionnaire responses, the pronunciation is considered to be fine when used by Chinese

Thai speakers but is considered wrong and inappropriate when used as part of the “internet language” or “teenager language.”

/khun1/ is the title usually added in order to make a term sound more polite. Both kathoey and women respondents state that they use /khun1 phi 3/ and /khun1 non 4/ with people who they are close to. The terms sound more intimate than just /phi 3/ and /non 4/, as shown in Example 30.

Example 30 (W #6)

คุณพี่/คุณน้อง ใช้กับเพื่อนหรือคนที่ทำงานที่สนิท ใช้เพราะเป็นคำที่แสดงความกันเอง สนิทมากกว่า ไซพี่ หรือ  
น้องเฉยๆ เป็นอารมณ์เล่นๆด้วย

*Khunphee/khunnong* is used with close friends and colleagues because it shows intimacy more than just *phee/nong*. It is used in a non-serious way.

When the title /khun1/ is added, the expectation is the terms would be perceived as more formal. However, the terms are reported to be used informally expressing intimacy. The formality of /khun1/ and the informality of /khun1 phi 3/ and /khun1 non 4/ are incongruous. The incongruity leads to humour. As shown in Example 31, the terms are used to create humour.

Example 31 (K #1)

ใช้ คุณพี่/คุณน้อง แทนตัวเองบ่อยน้อยกว่า พี่/น้อง เพราะฟังดูจริงจัง มีพิธีรีตอง จะใช้ก็ต่อเมื่อต้องการสร้าง  
สถานการณ์จริงจัง หรือต้องการสร้างบรรยากาศตลกขบขัน หรือกำลังตลก

I use *khunphee/khunnong* less often than *phee/nong* because the former sounds exaggerating and ceremonious. So I use it only when wanting to create an exaggerating, humorous or joking situation.

/phi:3/ ‘older brother or sister’ and the Chinese /ce:3/ or /ce:4/ ‘older sister’ are used by speakers who are older than their addressees. According to the referential meanings of the terms, for /phi:3/, speakers can be both men and women, while /ce:3 / or /ce:4/ can only be used by female speakers. The Chinese kin term is reported by one of the kathoey respondents as a term through which gender identity can be expressed, as shown in Example 32.

### Example 32 (K #10)

เจ๊ ใช้พูดกับรุ่นน้องที่สนิทกัน เพราะฟังดูน่ารัก แสดงอัตลักษณ์ทางเพศได้

*Chae* is used with younger people I am close to because it sounds cute and can show gender identity.

The difference in female dimension between the two kin terms is not the only factor determining the use of the term /ce:3/ or /ce:4/, as revealed in the questionnaire responses. For both kathoey and women, apart from being used in a Chinese Thai family, the Chinese kin term is reported to be used when speakers and addressees are familiar. The term is reported by a woman respondent shown in Example 33 to be used to create a fun and humorous atmosphere in informal situations.

### Example 33 (W #5)

เจ๊/เจ๊ – เน้น ฮา สนุกสนาน ไม่คิดมาก ไม่จริงจัง

*Chae* – emphasise humor, fun and being non-serious

Apart from intimacy, for kathoey, the kin term presents speakers as a strong and experienced person.

### Example 34 (K #17)

“เจ๊/เจ๊” ดูเป็นผู้หญิงแน่ สู้คน เจ๋ง

*Chae* sounds like a strong woman.

### Example 35 (K #5)

เจ๊/เจ๊ ดูเป็นผู้มีประสบการณ์ชีวิตมากกว่า

*Chae* sounds like a more experienced person.

### Example 36 (K #8)

เจ้/เจ๊ ฟังดูตลกๆ ฟังดูเป็นคนเชี่ยวชาญในหลายๆ เรื่อง เป็นคนให้คำปรึกษาคนอื่นๆ ได้ดีและสม่ำเสมอ

*Chae* sounds humorous. A speaker sounds like having expertise in many things. The speaker is a person who always gives other people good advice.

Moreover, for *kathoeys*, the Chinese kin term is also associated with power. Apart from being older and more experienced than the addressee and wanting to show their female identity, some of the *kathoeys* respondents report that speakers have to be powerful to some extent to be able to refer to themselves with /ce:3/ or /ce:4/, as shown in the examples.

### Example 37 (K #1)

ใช้ เจ้/เจ๊ แทนตัวเองไม่ค่อยบ่อย เพราะคิดว่ายังไม่มีบารมี ดูไม่มีอำนาจบาทใหญ่ และไม่อยากจะเกิดภาพว่าตนเป็นนางพญา เป็นคนใหญ่คนโต ต้องมีคนมานอบน้อมสิโรราบ

I don't refer to myself as *chae* very often because I don't think I'm influential or powerful, and I don't want others to get an impression that I'm a queen or a big person they have to be humble to.

### Example 38 (K #3)

เจ้ — ผู้ใช้ที่มีเชื้อสายจีนถือว่าใช้ถูกตามกาลเทศะ ส่วนผู้ที่ไม่ใช่เชื้อสายจีนใช้เพื่อแสดงว่ามีอำนาจเหนือผู้ฟัง

*Chae* — it's appropriate for those with Chinese blood to use. For others, it is used to show the power of speakers over addressees.

### Example 39 (K #16)

เจ้/เจ๊ ต้องการให้คนเคารพ ต้องการบอกว่าฉันใหญ่

*Chae* is used when wanting others to respect me and telling them that I'm powerful.

As the analysis shows, all first-person personal reference terms convey the same referential meaning. They are used by speakers to refer to themselves. Some of them have



different conventional meanings. For example, *phom* and *dichan* are reported to be a direct index of masculinity and femininity, respectively. Some others, despite their shared conventional meanings, are associated with different social meanings. The use of different terms then indicates different stances speakers are taking. Kathoeys' use of female pronoun and kin term not only presents their femininity, but also shows their different stances expressed through the social meanings of the terms.

## 5. Discussion

Based on the data in this present study, the ideology of binary gender is found to be dominant in Thai society. This can be seen in the way kathoey respondents categorise themselves in terms of gender. In Part 2 of the questionnaire, the respondents are asked to state their gender. The binary choice of male and female is not provided since it may force the respondents to choose one of the choices. A blank space is provided so that they can freely state their gender. Most of kathoey respondents answer that they are male. Since they are physically male, their gender is then male. None of them answers that they are kathoeys. However, some of kathoey respondents have different answers. Out of the 17 kathoey respondents, for the gender question, one respondent answers with “the second type of woman,” one with “a man with a woman’s mind,” one with “male only physically, with female mind” and one with “female.” There is another respondent stating his gender as “male, not womanly dress.” The answer suggests that the respondent is a kathoey but does not show his identity obviously through the way he dresses.

As shown in the internet-based data, kathoeys show their female identity through the use of female first-person personal reference terms. They use the terms like women do but even in a higher frequency. They perform their female identity linguistically. However, when asked about their gender, most of them state that their gender is male. This corresponds to their answers in the questionnaire stating that in formal situations, when not wanting to show their femininity, they use the male pronoun *phom*, the norm for male speakers found in Kongtrakool (1996). This agrees with Kongtrakool (1996)’s study which found that the effeminate males use male pronouns more frequently than female and gender-neutral pronouns. This is seen by Kongtrakool (1996) as a result of the educational context which does not enable respondents to express their gender. This may also be due to the questions used in Kongtrakool (1996)’s questionnaire which asks for respondents’ pronoun use when speaking to parents and teachers. Those situations may lead to respondents’ use of pronouns conforming to their biological gender. This shows that, although it has been more than ten years after Kongtrakool (1996)’s study and kathoeys are relatively accepted as a third gender in Thai society, the norm of performing biological gender is still maintained in formal situations.

According to the results from the internet-based data, gender-neutral first-person personal pronouns are used most often by both kathoeys and women. This does not

correspond to the results in Kongtrakool (1996)'s study, in which female and effeminate male students use female and male pronouns, respectively, more often than other kinds of pronoun. The difference between the findings in Kongtrakool (1996) and this present study may be a result of different contexts of pronoun use. The respondents in Kongtrakool (1996), as mentioned above, are in the educational context and are framed by the situations in the questionnaire. In contrast, webboard participants in this present study are not in the same situations and are free to express themselves in the webboards. That leads to their most frequent use of gender-neutral pronouns and kathoeys's use of female pronouns more frequent than women's.

In the internet-based data, personal names and kin terms are used by kathoeys more frequently than women. This can be considered a result of the difference between the online communities under study. *TLBz*, the kathoey webboard, is relatively smaller than the other two webboards representing women in this study. The members of *TLBz* are more likely to know each other. The intimacy among the members is shown to the use of personal names and kin terms. In addition, the use of kin terms can be viewed as part of their construction of in-group identity. By using kin terms, the members create the symbolic kinship in the community. The kin terms help create the familial atmosphere in the "imagined community" (Wong & Zhang 2001). The smaller size of the kathoey online community comparing to the other two webboards representing women might reflect the reality that kathoeys are minority in the society. As a minority, it is then more likely for kathoeys to create an in-group and intimate atmosphere in their community. This is done linguistically through their use of personal names and kin terms.

Moreover, the context of the webboard also enables their performance of intimacy. In *TLBz*, although the members are more likely to know each other than those of the other two, not all of them know each other. They might not be close to each other before. However, the webboard brings them together as the same community. Belonging to the same community, same gender and being a minority, the in-group intimacy is created more easily and this is done through language. For example, the Chinese kin term /ce:3/or /ce:4/ is found in the internet-based data. However, the questionnaire respondents state that this kin term is used only with people they are close to. This shows that the context of webboard encourages the intimacy among the members. The intimacy is also strengthened by the use of kin terms.

As a third gender, kathoeys construct their gender identity through language. They have access to the same linguistic set of first-person personal reference terms in Thai as other Thai speakers. In order to index their femininity, showing their identity aligning with women, they only choose female and gender-neutral first-person personal reference terms. The female forms are direct index of femininity. The use of female forms by kathoeys shows that they align themselves with women. Like women, kathoeys used female forms of first-person personal reference terms. They even use some female terms more often than women. Their stance of being feminine is then shown through their use of female forms. However, they sometimes used male forms when wanting to cover their female identity and perform themselves appropriately as male in formal situations. Different linguistic forms are used to take different stances and construct different identities in different situations. This shows that gender identity is emergent through the use of shared linguistic resources in interaction.

Kathoeys' use of female first-person personal reference terms can be viewed as voicing contrast (Agha 2005). Since kathoeys are born physically male, they are at first expected to use male forms like male speakers. The use of male forms by male speakers and the use of female forms by female speakers are the enregistered voice. The female forms, as found in the data, are used by kathoeys who are male speakers if considering their biological sex. The female forms are extextualised into a new context of kathoeys speakers. Their use of female forms is the extextualised voice. The use of female forms by kathoeys, who are actually male speakers, yields the voicing contrast. The extextualised voice does not correspond to the enregistered voice resulting in the incongruence of voicing effects (Agha 2005).

Moreover, an example of indexical order can be seen in the data. The female first-person personal pronoun *dichan* is used by women to refer to themselves as a speaker. The pronoun is a direct index of their female identity. It is taken further by women to index an emphasis as shown in the internet-based data analysis. Since the pronoun is usually used in a formal situation, it is used by women when they want to highlight the content they are saying. The pronoun is then an indirect index of emphasis. This social meaning is the  $n + 1^{\text{st}}$  order indexicality of the female first-person pronoun *dichan*.

## 6. Conclusion

This present study has investigated kathoeys' and women's use of first-person personal reference terms based on the internet-based data and the questionnaire responses. Five categories of first-person personal reference terms are found in the corpora. Personal pronouns are used most frequently and kathoeys use female pronouns more often than women do. Based on the internet-based data, the female pronoun *dichan* is used as a default first-person pronoun by kathoeys while used for an emphatic purpose by women. However, *dichan* is not the default pronoun for kathoeys questionnaire respondents among whom their biological gender is maintained through the use of the male pronoun *phom*. According to the questionnaire responses, *phom* directly index masculinity while *dichan*, *ichan*, *dian* and *dan* directly index femininity with different social meanings associated with each term. The only Chinese kin term found in the data meaning 'older sister,' apart from directly indexing older age and femininity of speakers, is also an index of experience and power for kathoeys questionnaire respondents.

Although kathoeys are viewed as a third gender in Thai society, their use of female first-person personal reference terms shows their positionality aligning with women. They, however, still have to perform their identity corresponding to their biological gender through the use of the male pronoun in formal situations. This shows that kathoeys have access to all first-person personal reference terms in Thai like other Thai speakers have but only some terms are used in constructing their gender identity. Masculinity and femininity are performed by kathoeys depending on situations they are in. Language is certainly a way through which genders are performed and this exemplifies the linguistic construction of gender identity.

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## Appendix

## *The questionnaire*

### แบบสอบถามเรื่องการใช้ภาษา

#### ส่วนที่ 1

1. ผม      ดิฉัน      อีฉัน      เตียน      ดัน      หนู

จากหาคำข้างต้น ท่านแทนตัวเองด้วยคำไหนบ่อยที่สุด (กรุณาเลือกตอบสองคำ)

ท่านใช้คำดังกล่าวกับใคร และเหตุใดท่านจึงเลือกใช้คำดังกล่าวกับบุคคลเหล่านั้น

คำตอบ

2. สำหรับอีกสี่คำที่ท่านไม่ได้เลือกตอบในข้อ 1 เหตุใดท่านจึงใช้คำเหล่านั้นบ่อยน้อยกว่าหรือไม่เคยใช้คำเหล่านั้นเลย กรุณาตอบแยกสำหรับแต่ละคำ

คำตอบ

3. สำหรับสี่คำที่ท่านเลือกตอบในข้อ 2 ท่านมีความเห็นเกี่ยวกับผู้ที่ใช้คำเหล่านั้นอย่างไร กรุณาตอบแยกสำหรับแต่ละคำ

คำตอบ

4. พี่/น้อง    คุณพี่/คุณน้อง    คุณพี่/คุณน้อง    เจ้/เจ๊    ป้า

จากห้าคำข้างต้น ท่านแทนตัวเองด้วยคำไหนบ่อยที่สุด (กรุณาเลือกตอบสองคำ)

ท่านใช้คำดังกล่าวกับใคร และเหตุใดท่านจึงเลือกใช้คำดังกล่าวกับบุคคลเหล่านั้น

คำตอบ

5. สำหรับอีกสามคำที่ท่านไม่ได้เลือกตอบในข้อ 4 เหตุใดท่านจึงใช้คำเหล่านั้นบ่อยน้อยกว่าหรือไม่เคยใช้คำเหล่านั้นเลย กรุณาตอบแยกสำหรับแต่ละคำ

คำตอบ

6. สำหรับสามคำที่ท่านเลือกตอบในข้อ 5 ท่านมีความเห็นเกี่ยวกับผู้ใช้คำเหล่านั้นอย่างไร กรุณาตอบแยกสำหรับแต่ละคำ

คำตอบ

## ส่วนที่ 2 ข้อมูลของผู้ตอบแบบสอบถาม

ข้อมูลส่วนตัวของท่านจะถูกนำมาใช้เพื่อวัตถุประสงค์ทางการวิจัยเท่านั้น และจะไม่ถูกนำไปเปิดเผยต่อสาธารณะ

1. เพศ \_\_\_\_\_
2. อายุ \_\_\_\_\_
3. สำเร็จการศึกษาสูงสุดในระดับ  
\_\_\_\_\_ มัธยมศึกษา \_\_\_\_\_ ปริญญาตรี \_\_\_\_\_ สูงกว่าปริญญาตรีขึ้นไป

## ส่วนที่ 3 แบบขอความยินยอม

แบบสอบถามนี้เป็นแบบสอบถามในงานวิจัย ที่มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างผู้พูดกับการใช้ภาษา งานวิจัยนี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของวิทยานิพนธ์ในระดับปริญญาโท สาขาภาษาศาสตร์ประยุกต์ (Applied Linguistics) The University of Edinburgh ปีการศึกษา 2010/2011 ข้อมูลที่ท่านให้ในแบบสอบถามนี้จะถูกนำไปใช้เพื่อวัตถุประสงค์ทางการวิจัยเท่านั้น

กรุณาทำเครื่องหมายกากบาทลงในช่องสี่เหลี่ยมนี้ ☐ หากท่านได้อ่านและเข้าใจวัตถุประสงค์ของแบบสอบถามนี้ และได้ตอบแบบสอบถามนี้ด้วยความสมัครใจ

ขอขอบพระคุณท่านที่ให้ความร่วมมือในการตอบแบบสอบถาม

ภาวดี สายสุวรรณ